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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COPING STRATEGIES OF FOREIGN STUDENTS

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FOREIGN STUDENTS: A DEFINITION

A visible and significant sub-set of the student body of most major American institutions of higher education is its foreign student population. The three decades of the post World War II era have seen a phenomenal growth in the numbers of these students present in the U.S., and in 1973 more than 146,000 foreign students were enrolled in post secondary schools in this country. The growth of the foreign student population on the University of Minnesota campuses is illustrated in Table I. Almost 1600 students were identified by the International Student Advisers Office in the academic year 1974-75.

Justification for the presence of foreign students is diverse, but one can trace a shift in the rationale that began in the early 1950s with an idealistic support for intercultural exchange and post World War II aid programs. This changed to a baldly economic and political argumentation in the 1960s, i.e. to teach Western technology and ideology. Throughout this time many voiced their concern about the "brain drain" said to result from the non-return of students to their economically less-developed and sometimes politically unstable homelands.

In the past few years, concerns have shifted from the economic and social implications of foreign study and of the non-return of the students to their home countries, to that of the impact their presence individually and collectively has for the receiving American society.

As the cost of American education has skyrocketed, institutions have been forced to examine their financial ability to service this group. In turn, as tuition and living costs have escalated, the financial press on individual students regardless of their nationality has been considerable. Competition for available economic resources, whether in the form of scholarships, assistantships or part-time jobs, is increasing among all students. The economic crunch for foreign students has been exacerbated by the legal restrictions which are conditions of their visa status.

A mounting national debate over U.S. immigration policy has led to arguments for severe limitations to be placed on the presence of foreigners, including students. Xenophobic fears based on varying rationales are revealed by calls for limiting immigration from such diverse groups as Zero Population Growth and some labor organizations. The increasing debate over constricting immigration and stemming the flow of illegal immigrants finds concrete expression in the administrative labyrinth of the bureaucracy concerned with U.S. immigration, the promulgation of their regulations and the manner of their interpretation.

As we hope to make clear, foreign students cannot remain aloof from this debate for a number of reasons. As institutionally based groups of individuals, they are far more easily recognizable than other categories of non-citizens and consequently are easily identifiable targets in the public as well as the bureaucracies' frustration about the immigration problem. In addition, it must be acknowledged that student status has proved to be a viable route of entrance into the United States for a significant number of individuals who would otherwise have found it more difficult, if not impossible, to enter legally.

The Problem: Coping Strategies

The immediate problem examined by our study of foreign students was two-fold in nature. First, we were interested in describing and if possible, explaining the nature of social relationships within that social category labeled foreign students. Second, our focus has been on the economic aspects of their life, for the genesis of the study was in a number of actions taken in this area by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the University's Financial Aid Office. More specifically, we were looking for coping strategies, primarily economic, employed by foreign students. As our study proceeded, the centrality of American immigration law, its detail, application and enforcement became apparent. This report focuses on a description of the foreign student population at the University of Minnesota and a description of the unique relationship this subset has to the University in particular and to American society in general.

Who is a Foreign Student?

Social categories, by definition, are agreed upon constructs and thus often lack clear-cut boundaries. Legal definitions, while apparently more precise, also lack absolute certainty, as is evidenced by the adjudication often necessary to determine such diverse statuses as spousehood, citizenship, studenthood and even a recent Supreme Court ruling as to who is a person. The construct, foreign students, also suffers from definitional problems. What is the basis of the descriptor "foreign?" Is it citizenship or nationality, cultural heritage, or the legal basis for a person's presence in the U.S.? As we shall see, for meaningful understanding of foreign student behavior, the interpreter

must remain aware of the basis for the lack of congruence between social and legal definitions of foreign studenthood in order to interpret much of the data presented here. And as we have shown elsewhere, the boundaries of studenthood are patently ill defined, and minimum requirements for qualification either legally or socially as a student vary enormously from situation to situation (Hendricks and Zimbrolt, 1974).

A "common sense" definition of a foreign student would usually include such dimensions as non-U.S. citizenship, prior socialization in a cultural system external to that extant in the U.S., and generally the assumption that the individual's residence in the U.S. is temporary and primarily for the purpose of attending an educational institution.

A legalistic definition, however, is inextricably tied to U.S. immigration laws and the enforcement policies of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Because of this lack of congruence between the two definitions, those assigned roles of responsibility for dealing with foreign students on campuses have difficulty in establishing the boundaries of their constituencies. The researcher, in turn, is puzzled as to the inconsistencies of demographic data concerning foreign students. The outside observer, whether faculty member, legislator, or ordinary citizen, is even more confused by the seeming fuzziness of what seems to be a logically discrete category of people.

The statistical statements in this paper will concern individuals who are "foreign students" at a large mid-western urban university. For the purposes of this paper we will limit ourselves to a definition of foreign students as those individuals who hold "F", "J", or "H" visa statuses. Foreign nationals or resident alien students are those holding immigrant visas, and hyphenated-Americans (e.g., Asian-Americans) are

students who are U.S. citizens either by birth or naturalization but are ascribed and/or choose identification as members of a national or ethnic subset (e.g., Chinese-Americans).

The Legal Basis of Foreign Studenthood

In order to place the legal position of foreign students in proper perspective, a brief review of present U.S. immigration law is necessary. The entry of any foreign citizen into the U.S. is governed by a highly complicated set of laws, regulations, and administrative and judicial decisions. A legal textbook on immigration points out that

> these immigration statutes are intricate and complex. They must be carefully consulted on each immigration problem to avoid error. It may never be assumed that the statute will contain a certain provision because logic so dictates. (Wildes 1968:26). Emphasis added.

Entry permits or visas fall into two basic categories: immigrant (sometimes called permanent residence) visas and non-immigrant (tourist, student, diplomatic) visas. From the point of view of the potential student the basic difference between the two is that the non-immigrant visa is normally only valid for a stated period of time and holders of this type of entry permit are limited, if not proscribed, in the type, place and amount of remunerative employment possible while in the United States. This distinction is important because it must be recognized that the legal basis for the presence of foreign nationals attending American schools and colleges is quite different for those on "F" (student), "J" (trainees) or "H" (specialists) visas from those here on immigrant visas. This distinction is often the crux of an understanding of seemingly paradoxical social behavior and coping strategies adopted by individual students who do not hold U.S. citizenship.

Most matters dealing with immigration policies and their enforcement are functions of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), an agency of the Justice Department. But other agencies, notably the State and Labor Departments, are intimately involved in aspects of decisions regarding the issuance of visas. In foreign countries INS offices are often part of the physical facilities operated by the State Department. This overlapping of functions and facilities leads to much confusion of responsibility in matters covering the issuance and enforcement of visa policies. In the spring of 1974 when INS announced severe restrictions on summer employment of foreign students, this primarily affected students in the U.S. on "F" visas since permission to work for this group is handled by INS while summer employment of individuals on "J" visas is under the jurisdiction of the State Department.

Obtaining a Visa

Typically a prospective student applies to American consular officials in his native country requesting a visa to enter the U.S. for study purposes. Ordinarily the applicant for such a visa based upon student status must present to the American consular officials evidence indicating his acceptance at a U.S. educational institution (the I-20 or DSP-66 Form) as well as documents showing how he will be supported during the proposed study period. However, the guidelines and rules of necessity contain certain ambiguity as they must be interpreted in each case within a variety of individual and social contexts. Consequently, students report a wide gamut of experience in making applications, which from their point of view often suggests inconsistency and even favoritism within American governmental

officialdom.* In addition, changes in both law and regulations, of which the participants may be in ignorance, lead to false assumptions and consequent accusations about inconsistency and unfairness.

In some countries where the pressure for out migration is strong (Hong Kong, for example), the requirements for all types of visas seem to be much more rigidly enforced than in many other places. The local government may be indirectly influential in the manner in which U.S. visas are issued by policies they pursue concerning the issuance of exit permits. The Cameroons, as do some other countries, restrict overseas study by levying a heavy tax for permission to leave the country which in turn is reflected in the manner by which the applicant proceeds to apply for student status. In this case the individual may leave the country as a tourist without paying the tax and then apply for student status in the U.S. at the American consular office in some other country.

The varying nature of the prerequisites actually demanded by individual consulates is illustrated in reports about how students met demands for evidence of support during their proposed study period. The requirements reported varied both in the <u>form</u> in which the support had to be shown and the <u>length</u> of time the support was expected to cover. Thus, some were required to show support for only one year and

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* Even within a given office much inconsistency can be found. One of the writers (Hendricks) once observed two INS officials working in the same office in Santo Domingo interviewing applicants for permanent U.S. immigrant status. One official's attitude was that she was the last arbiter before the coveted document was to be awarded and therefore her job was to make certain that no possible error was being made. At an adjacent desk was another person whose stated attitude and actions indicated he believed anyone who had arrived at this point in the application process was to be aided and abetted in fulfilling all requirements.

others had to indicate up to four years of support. Some offices required specific dollar amounts while others did not. Students reported demands of sums up to $12,000 for a single year and up to $50,000 for a four-year period.

Some offices required cash on deposit in the bank while others required only a letter from the parent's bank indicating they have sufficient funds. Other offices accept a statement of assets of the parents or even the expected parental income as sufficient support basis. Some cases were reported in which no request for support basis was ever made. It is clear, however, that in the past few years the requirement for financial support has been more rigorously enforced. The implications of such a change are enormous both in terms of the type of student recruited for study in the U.S. and the strategies applicants employ to meet the new situation.

The motivations of foreign students for being present on an American campus are as diverse as those of American students. One will find in any university student body individuals who are enrolled for varying reasons: intellectual curiosity, mate selection, employment certification, fulfillment of parental social needs. Foreign students, too, have a gamut of motivations for assuming the social and legal role of student in the United States. Like their American counterparts, many of their reasons may be somewhat peripheral to the expressed aims of the institution of higher education. Included in these motivations may be the use of the role as an immigration route into the United States, a time of political exile, the exploitation of available economic resources, a haven from political or military upheaval in their own country, or quite simply to search for new experiences. It must be

recognized that the legal status of student can sometimes be utilized by the institution for its own purposes to by-pass restrictive INS regulations. One individual interviewed was present on the campus on a student visa, but his international credentials as a researcher, the nature of his campus work activities and the scale of his remuneration in no way reflected what would ordinarily be considered the status of a student. He claimed surprise to find his name among the registered students. The recognition of these diverse motivations is not made for pejorative reasons, but rather to point out the difficutly in making statements about "the foreign students." Just as with their American counterparts, such recognition is also necessary to give context to the variety of ways they go about solving the problem of social and economic adaptation to their new environment.

As with the student population in general, it is intellectually dishonest to stereotype the "foreign student." Some are socially although not legally unrecognizable from American students. If for no other reason than their own, as well as the host nation's racial attitude, some never strive for nor can hope to achieve acceptance as Americans. Others for ideological and cultural reasons would be offended by such an inclusion. As we would hope this report makes obvious, the single shared attribute among foreign students is their lack of U.S. citizenship and consequent presence here holding visas containing restrictions on their activities. Admittedly, many, if not most, are also incompletely acculturated. However, the degree of acculturation varies from that of an indistinguishable Anglo-Saxon Canadian to the visibly "foreign" turbaned Indian. Or, from the internationalized daughter of the ambassador to Washington from an Asian

nation to her rural fellow countryman who has scarcely even visited the capital of his country prior to arrival in Minnesota.

Some Demographic Considerations

The legal basis for the presence of the 1676 foreign students reported to be enrolled in academic programs on the Twin Cities campus in 1973-74 is shown in Table II. The reader will note that the overwhelming number (68%) possess "F" or student visas. The International Student Adviser's Office (ISAO), the source of this data, assumes responsibility as the University of Minnesota's primary liaison between the foreign student, the institution and to some degree official and unofficial agencies dealing with international study programs. It has disclaimed responsibility for those individuals who are in possession of immigrant visas as they are legally and functionally in a very different position than those who are circumscribed by the limitations of non-immigrant status.

The number with immigrant status in the Table is deceptive. Student records held by Admissions and Records** indicate that 11% of the

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** One data item of student information held by the central administration computer files concerns citizenship and residence. The accuracy of the information is open to question, partially because of the difficulty in updating any changes in visa status. Residence in this case refers to residence in the state of Minnesota for outstate/instate tuition calculation, although residence in terms of visa status refers to a specific visa category. Thus a Korean graduate student who arrived on a student "F" visa but subsequently received immigrant status did not bother to update this item on his student record because as a research assistant, he had always qualified for instate tuition status. (Foreign students generally are classified as "outstate students" for purposes of tuition calculation, although there are numerous exceptions to this rule.)

In the list of priorities of those maintaining the data file, this information was of no special consequence: "We have lots of other special groups on campus. Some would like for us to be able to identify athletes." The lack of urgency for accurate identification of foreign students in central administration files is undoubtedly a product of the slipperiness of the term, urgencies of priorities of keeping other items of student information and most importantly a reflection of the degree of incorporation of foreign students as an unremarkable category within the University.

non-U.S. citizens registered are resident aliens (with immigrant visas) which would add another 200 students if only resident alien status is the classificatory criteria. The difficulty of establishing a census of foreign students on the campus is then compounded by the definitions used. A Canadian citizen married to an American is so well enculturated that few are cognizant of her foreign origin, while a Chinese from Singapore who is also married to an American cannot as easily avoid being classified as a foreigner. Both possess immigrant visa status and neither is counted as a foreign student by ISAO. Curiously the Canadian is much more adamant in demanding her recognition as a non-U.S. citizen than is the Singapore student. Some individuals acquire immigrant visas with the legitimate desire to migrate to the U.S., while others do so for the purposes of circumventing the work restrictions of non-immigrant status. Therefore, the ISAO must arbitrarily decide those to be carried on their lists in what they refer to as "visas of convenience." It is our sense that the number so identified is underestimated. In addition, some in this category have applied for a change to resident visa status, and the transitional period leaves them technically as foreign students but in reality ready to assume legal responsibilities as immigrants.

Of special significance is that 65% are graduate or professional students as compared to 28% of the students on the campus in general. Foreign students made up 16% of the total graduate population in 1973-74. While there is a preponderance of graduate students within the total foreign student population, this does not hold for all national groups. Table III listing the top 17 groups shows the two leading nationalities (Hong Kong and Taiwan) with reversed proportions

of undergraduates to graduates. The reasons for the size and components of individual national grouping is complicated and reflect factors associated with historical, social, economic, and political events in both the sending country and the U.S. Withdrawal of American government financial support for study in the U.S. is reflected in decreased enrollment in at least one case. Overpopulation and limited economic and educational opportunities at home show up in increased overseas enrollments in another. Networks of social relations which functionally serve to recruit new students from the foreign nation to the University of Minnesota account for the growth of still other populations.

The preponderence of males (80%) among foreign students is in contrast to the all University enrollment figure of 60% males. Table IV indicates that at least 26% of the students are accompanied by a spouse. About half of these family units include children.

Foreign students, as defined by ISAO, represent 5.3% of the all University full-time enrollment on the Twin Cities campuses (by the definition of their legal status as foreign students they are certified to be "full-time students"). While this number may seem miniscule to the reader, part of our interest in examining the demographic issues is to account for the apparent greater visibility and numbers of foreign students than these figures exhibit. For example, over 50% of the foreign student group (850) come from Asian countries. For the past 40 years, at least, Indian and Chinese students have been present at this University in relatively large numbers (Tai Shick Kang, 1966). The first known foreign student Ph.D was awarded to a Japanese citizen in 1915. The current student body includes a small number of Asians who have become naturalized citizens as well as a large number of

American born citizens of Asian ethnic origin. In addition, an unknown number of Asian ethnics are present in the status of resident aliens and are not accounted for in either group. Thus certainly more than 2000 students meet superficial and obviously incorrect criteria of being classified Asians, i.e., "foreigners." The ability of some U.S. citizens and a larger number of resident aliens to choose or be ascribed a personal identification as either an American or as a foreign student, therefore, makes any enumeration of foreign national groups highly subjective.

Much to the consternation of concerned native Black students struggling to increase their numbers on the campus, the Black foreign student is often socially viewed as native American. Thus from certain perspectives the ratio and number of foreign oriental (Asian) to foreign Blacks (African and Caribbean) seems more disparate than is actually the case. The ability of the individual to choose or be assigned differing ethnic and social categories has significant implications for their patterns of behaviors. This is especially so for the Black foreign student caught up in the American Dilemma of racism (Odenyo 1970).

The concentration of foreign students in technical fields of study rather than in the liberal arts and their predominance as graduate students, as indicated in Table V, further distorts the casual observer's impression as to the size and nature of this population on the campus. A view limited to patrons utilizing the bio-medical or engineering libraries could lead one to make unwarranted inferences about the ethnic content of the University in general.

FOREIGN STUDENTS: THE SOCIAL SITUATION

A foreign student in the United States has both a legal status and a social status. Both of these statuses are defined for him by the society at whose educational institution he has chosen to study. In attempting to cope with his financial, legal, and social situations in the United States, the foreign student must operate from the position of these legal and social statuses ascribed to him and over which he has little control. As described above, the foreign student's legal status is determined by the Department of State and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and this legal status ramifies into many crucial aspects of the student's activities, such as employment, university expenses, and financial assistance.

Legally, the foreign student is an "alien" - a classification which establishes that he is an "outsider." The legal classification of "alien" is supportive of the notion prevalent among most Americans that the foreign student "belongs" elsewhere, that he is extrinsic to the social system in which the Americans are involved, and that he is a "transient" in American society. Many Americans seem to interpret the foreign student's legal status as an indication that the foreign student is less involved in the ongoing social system than are Americans. The attitude seems to be that the foreign student's status as an "alien" reduces his commitment to and participation in the University and community. There is a sense then that the foreign student is somewhat superfluous to the University and its activities - and what is superfluous often can be ignored.

As we have shown, the number of foreign students registered at

the University of Minnesota makes it difficult to view foreign students as in any way superfluous. The number of courses which are conducted with foreign students as teaching assistants, the number of on-campus jobs which are performed by foreign students, the number of dormitory rooms and meals paid for by foreign students, the amount of patronage provided by foreign students to on- and off- campus businesses, the number of foreign students in large lecture classes which justify departmental budgets, and so forth, are sizable enough to make any view of foreign students as superfluous unsupportable.

Because about 20 per cent of the foreign student population resides in University dormitories and because they are largely restricted to on-campus employment during the school year, the foreign student in many ways is more "intrinsic" to the University than are the many American students who live and work off-campus. In a university it is difficult to consider the foreign students as any more transient than American students, for the university career of any student is essentially a temporary association with the institution - a student comes in, stays for the requisite length of time, then leaves. Where the student comes from or where he leaves to would seem to make no difference in the nature of the impermanence of the student's association with the University.

The social status of the foreign student is also that of an "alien." Despite the variety of views of foreign students that Americans may have, common to these views is the feeling that the foreign student is somehow different, a "they" and not a "we." Americans may regard foreign students as interesting, curious, insular, distant, quiet, abrasive, and so forth. But within any evaluation of a foreign student is a sense

that the foreign student is culturally different, though the exact nature of this difference escapes clear formulation - largely because of the lack of specific knowledge about the foreign student's cultural background. Therefore the concept of inherent difference becomes a residual explanatory device for reaching an understanding of foreign students' actions - a residual explanatory device which is not available for understanding fellow Americans.

The social status of being somehow different presents foreign students with a certain amount of ambiguity. On the one hand, the foreign student is not really seen as within the system and therefore often is not expected to understand what is going on within the University, is not expected to participate in all facets of the University, and is assumed to have difficulties in managing within the University and within American society in general. On the other hand, the foreign student is often expected to understand events, procedures, and social norms to the same degree that an American student does, is expected to participate adequately in all things that American students do, and is granted little recognition of his difficulties. The foreign student therefore finds that what is expected of him is imprecise and unpredictable - for he seldom knows when he is expected to act as if he were an American and when he is not. For example, at the same time that American society is telling the foreign student that the accepted norm is that students work while pursuing their studies, legal restrictions are placed on the foreign student to prevent him from doing just that.

Students from other countries who arrive in the United States possess differing capacities for adjusting to their new environment. Some find the transition from their own society to that of the United

States relatively easy and painless, others find the encounter with a new social and physical environment quite difficult or even traumatic. No simple correlation between ability to adapt and nationality can be made. It may be that Western Europeans find it fairly easy to adapt to American society, but it is difficult to say, for example, that Ethiopians adapt more easily than Japanese, or vice versa. An individual's personality, past experience, social background, and specific situation within the University seem to have greater bearing on his ability to adapt. Regardless of an individual's personal capacity to adapt to American society, no foreign student can manage without the advice and assistance of others. As is the case for anyone coming into a society other than his own, a foreign student cannot be aware of all the accepted patterns of action, the relevant cues, the norms, and the possible avenues for meeting needs that exist in American society. In his discussion of the "culture shock" often experienced by people while in another society, anthropologist Ward Goodenough (1963:399) says

> It can be a very disturbing thing to have all the little things one has taken for granted suddenly removed. Some people react to this situation positively as an adventure; others are terrified and incapacitated. Few, however, do not find it stressful to be continually operating in ignorance of the meaning to others of their own actions or of the meanings they should attribute to the actions of others.

A person in this situation finds that it is impossible to master all the accepted patterns of behavior, information, and codes of interpersonal communication. He is unlikely to be aware of all the possibilities for action in order to meet certain needs, nor is he likely to know what the society's customary limits are with regard to certain actions.

Foreign students, therefore, must be <u>selective</u> about what they need

to know in order to function in their new environment. They need to be selective about what patterns of behavior within American society are valuable to adopt or to approximate. Because most foreign students are in the United States for a limited amount of time, during which they must be highly conscious of their academic, legal, and financial situations, there is a tendency to focus on patterns of behavior and information which are relevant to the needs arising out of these situations. Social contacts, sources of information, and patterns of behavior which are relevant to these needs are valued and tend to be incorporated in an individual's "strategy for coping" with the academic, legal, and financial demands made upon him. Those social contacts, sources of information, and patterns of behavior which are not similarly instrumental are less likely to be cultivated. Many foreign students, therefore, operate within a limited social field, and it is within this limited social field that they seek to develop some modicum of control and self-confidence and to meet the needs arising from their academic, legal, and financial situations.

Within a foreign student's social field will be a variety of people who in differing ways are instrumental in the student's "strategy for coping" and in his getting through the stay in the United States. Some of these people relate to the individual foreign student primarily in a social manner, providing comradeship, emotional support, and so forth. Others may relate to the foreign student primarily with regard to academic activities - people such as professors, advisers, teaching assistants, and classmates. Our interest is primarily in those people who are instrumental in helping the foreign student to operate within his legal position and with regard to his financial needs.

The foreign student population, though diverse, constitutes a distinct subset within the larger system of the University and American society. As shown above, this distinctiveness is based primarily on their common legal and social statuses. Though many social needs can be met within the foreign student population, each foreign student must enter into and accomodate himself to the larger system in order to work out his legal and financial requirements. Those people who may be of assistance to the foreign student in doing this can be viewed as "brokers," who, in Eric Wolf's (1956:1075) terms, "stand guard over the crucial junctures or synapses of relationships which connect the local system to the larger whole." The "broker" does not have the ability to meet the needs of an individual, for he is not in a position to control the means by which such needs can be met. He is not able to shape the "larger whole," but rather may possess information about the "larger whole" which can be of assistance to the individual, may be the keeper of certain channels through which actions must be directed in order to meet needs with regard to the "larger whole," or may have access to means which can be employed by the individual. Adrian Mayer (1967:168) has indicated that a "broker" also may be a "middleman attracting followers who believe him able to influence the person who controls the favours."

A "broker" may be instrumental in furthering the foreign student's endeavors to meet his needs, or the "broker" may simply be the conveyor of information and advice, which then may or may not be incorporated in the student's strategy and actions. Robert Paine (1971:20-21) has made distinctions among a "patron," a "go-between," and a "broker." A "patron" controls certain favors and can dispense them to individuals

completely according to his own designs. The "go-between" performs his role as link between two parties without altering or manipulating the interests, demands, values, or situation of either party. A "broker" on the other hand, may make changes, wittingly or unwittingly, in the emphasis or content of information regarding the parties in order to bring about some kind of accomodation between them. As Paine has indicated, one of the main characteristics of a "broker" is his function as a "processor" of information.

While a given individual may, at various times, occupy all three of these roles (although not simultaneously), the nature of the distinctly different social transactions in the patron-, broker-, and go-between-client relationships is more understandable when these distinctions are drawn. In American society, the government agent on an Indian reservation provided a classic example of the culture broker role (although in some settings he may have also functioned as a patron). In more recent times the labor contractor with migrant Chicano workers provides another example. In New York City the travel agent occupies a similar structural role for certain Latin-American groups (Hendricks 1974).

Among those groups or categories of people who act in these social structural roles for foreign students are the International Student Advisers Office, the established national groups, other nationals from a student's country, religious institutions, relatives residing in the United States, employers, host families, and academic advisers.

International Student Advisers Office

Within the University the unit with specific responsibility for handling the special needs of foreign students is the International

Student Advisers Office (ISAO). The developmental history of this unit in a large part reflects the growth and institutionalization of significant numbers of foreign national students within the University system. This office is only one of several which presently is responsible for the specific needs or is involved in the distribution of special resources allocated to foreign students, although it remains the most visible unit.

In addition, offices and units with activities directly and indirectly aimed at assisting foreign students can be found within academic units (International Agriculture Programs Office), at the central administrative level (Office of International Programs), in semi-autonomous external service organizations (International Center), and in subsidiary units to ISAO (English as a Second Language and Minnesota International Student Association).

The initial all-University office dealing specifically with foreign students was organized in 1941 as a part-time assignment to one student personnel worker and grew in size in response to the increasing number of foreign students attracted to the United States in the early post World War II years. However, even prior to this time, other agencies within and without the University had attempted informally to provide staff and facilities to deal with foreign students. In the 1930s the YMCA placed considerable emphasis on assisting this group.

At the present time (1975) the ISAO is a student service unit of considerable size with an operational budget of nearly $200,000 a year. The staff of four full time academic professionals, three student personnel workers and a clerical staff of seven carry out counseling functions, orientation and activity programs, and activities related to

immigration status (the focus of our discussion).

The initial emphasis of the new office was on the more obvious language and communication problems, cultural and social adjustment problems and specific problems emanating from the student's lack of familiarity with American pedagogical procedures which it was felt were not being effectively dealt with. An additional task which the new agency assumed was that of responsibility for the assistance of students in obtaining special funds: scholarships, grants and loans - some of which had been specifically designated for aiding foreign students. Importantly, however, it assumed responsibility by both design and default for assisting the institution and the student in meeting requirements of immigration laws. This latter function became especially critical with a fundamental shift in U.S. immigration which became effective in 1968. The prospective student, for example, must produce evidence of acceptance by an accredited U.S. educational institution prior to the issuance of an "F" (student) visa or show admission, employment or training commitments in the case of "H" or "J" visa categories. Once in the U.S., it is necessary for the institution and the individual student to report periodically his continued status as a student or trainee. The functional result of this requirement has been to make the institution appear to be part and parcel of the bureaucracy administering and enforcing immigration laws. While the ultimate power of decision remains with other agencies (e.g., the Graduate School decides qualifications for admission to its programs, colleges set criteria for minimum performance in order to continue at the institution, the State Department and INS issue visas and control the length of stay), many of the functions of these agencies were delegated

(or assumed by default) to ISAO. The foreign student adviser thus often operates at the critical juncture of relationships between the student, the institution and the immigration bureaucracy.

While all of its programs are active, with varying numbers of students participating, the one exclusive ISAO activity which incorporates all students is the annual necessity of extension of stay. In addition, permission to seek employment on-campus year around and off-campus during the summer were delegated to the ISAO. Recently, summer off-campus permission has been retained by INS. Consequently, even though the list of activities and functions ascribed to this office is long, considerable time and resources is devoted directly or indirectly to meeting the needs of foreign students created by their special legal status.

The foreign student personnel worker's actions and the perception of these actions held by his student-clients may, with some utility, be examined from the conceptual framework we have laid out about "middleman" roles. In terms of our present discussion, the adviser would be considered a patron if he were able to unilaterally make crucial visa decisions or personally award student scholarship monies. In reality his role is that of assisting the student-client in making proper connections to those who do control a wanted resource. This may be in such diverse forms as contacting an official in the Housing Office and, on the basis of role, rank or personal friendship, persuading the official to delay the claims for payment by a delinquent foreign student; participating on committees which decide financial awards; or advising the student on procedural matters and mediating conflicts between the student and the immigration authorities. But, these services are not performed without at least implicit value judgments. The adviser operates within his own cultural frame of reference and is directly tied

to an institution with its special set of priorities. While he may well be more sensitive to cross-cultural conflicts, nevertheless the basis of his values are American and his definition of acceptable actions are drawn from the American sociocultural scene, most often expressly laid out by the University and government. "I'll push the rules as far as anyone, but I'll tell them I won't lie for them" was a normative, culturally value-laden statement when referring to an individual's request for aid in retaining visa status as a student when in reality he was employed full time. The student was working in order to remit money to bring a nephew to the U.S., a fact the ISAO adviser probably knew. However, the adviser abided by the norms of his own culture rather than those of his petitioner who was under great pressure from his own cultural norms to fulfill his avuncular role prescriptions. The adviser's counseling and advising role, then, was, strictly speaking, not neutral.

This status as a broker between the student and agencies administering immigration laws operates to produce irresolute relationships between the office and its foreign student constituency. On the one hand, the student, of necessity, must use the unit in order to maintain his legal identity as a student. However, this very relationship makes many students wary about too close an identification with it, especially if they are involved in any dubious activities potentially in violation of their visa status.

ISAO officials are not unaware of the pitfalls of their present position. One long time worker expressed the desire "to get us out of this immigration business altogether and give it back to the Government. Maybe we should never have gotten into it." However, it is unlikely

this will take place. Their intimate knowledge and experience with the labyrinth of law and practice as well as the pivotal position these activities carry within and without the institution mitigate against any such divorcing of function. In fact it would appear that the development of the office at the University of Minnesota, at least, is just the opposite. The removal of ISAO's direct control over the administration of financial aid for foreign students and the delegation of this authority to another unit within the University is but one illustration of the tendency to concentrate ISAO activities to those of a broker of immigration activities. Its role as a potent spokesman for foreign students was demonstrated by the successful campaign this office waged before the 1974 State Legislature to provide some relief from out-of-state tuition rates for foreign students. The loud protests voiced both locally and nationally by ISAO officials over the recent Immigration and Naturalization Services' actions to have decisions about summer work permits made by INS offices rather than by campus foreign student advisers is indicative of the degree they are committed to retain this key role of broker to the immigration bureaucracy.

Many of the service activities involved in assisting newly arrived students to adapt to their environment are provided by other agencies such as Minnesota International Center, a privately funded community volunteer organization, or student based nationality clubs such as the Hong Kong Student Association or the Thai Student Association and the Minnesota International Student Association. While the personnel of ISAO are to varying degrees involved in coordinating these autonomous collateral organizations, much of the activity takes place outside the context of the office. Part of this development is a reflection of the

ambiguous nature of the role of this unit as perceived by its constituency. We would speculate that the support of these groups external to ISAO is a realistic and functional response to the situation. Part of the success of the U of M advisers office has been decentralization of its functions, yet maintaining some degree of liaison, if not covert control, with these autonomous and semi-autonomous groups.

The American college student personnel movement, of which ISAO is a part, has a heavy commitment to provide counseling and guidance functions in addition to providing specific kinds of student services. Few foreign universities have developed (for both cultural as well as economic reasons) these kinds of student related services, especially in the counseling area. Consequently, most foreign students neither expect nor seek, and may even resent, what they perceive as interference in their lives. The distinctively American tendency to "counsel," with its attendant transparent psychological approaches, is in cultural conflict with the values and role perceptions held by many foreign students of the student-institution relationship. (This conflict is also unrecognized in many relationships between student personnel workers and American students as well.)

This does not mean foreign students do not frequently seek solution to their problems in the foreign student advisers office. But, depending upon the problem, most often the office is seen as but one of several potential guides or connections to help rather than the direct source of help. It is in this sense we have labeled the office's function as one of brokerage rather than patronage.

However, since much of its activities, including those subsumed under the rubric "counseling," attempts to change values (whether operating

implicitly by providing more information or explicitly through outright sanctioning of behavior), we believe the term brokerage aptly describes many of the social transactions between ISAO and its clients.

National Groups

There are more than twenty recognized national groups on campus; for example, the Hong Kong Students Association, Iranian Students Association, and Thai Students Association. Most of the national groups do not have long histories, having been established within the past ten or fifteen years. Because membership in these organizations tends to be limited to citizens and former citizens of one country, it is proper to call them national groups, though some of the organizations are composed of individuals from countries of a region, notably the Caribbean Students Association.

Membership in the national groups is not restricted to students on "F" or "J" visas. In fact, the national groups are not composed only of students. Though campus-based and officially recognized by the University as student organizations, the national groups include both students and non-students who are permanent residents or naturalized citizens of the United States. There are examples of national groups including native-born American citizens who claim ancestry in the same country as the membership. Many national groups include professionals, such as doctors and faculty members, who are working in the Twin Cities on permanent residence visas or as naturalized U.S. citizens. The Thai Student Association also includes a number of women who married American servicemen formally stationed in Thailand. Thus the national groups are often focal points for ethnic or national identification, with students providing the bulk of the membership.

Most of the national groups have as their stated purposes the following: to promote better understanding among the members, Americans, and other foreigners; to organize social, cultural, and educational programs; and to provide assistance and information for members. It is the third purpose which may place a national group in the role of "broker" for its members.

The national groups vary in the number of activities planned and meetings held. Groups may hold beginning-of-the-school-year parties, national holiday celebrations, and picnics. Some groups hold periodic meetings at which issues confronting the membership are discussed. These issues may pertain to the students' situations in the University, such as the recent tightening of restrictions on summer employment or efforts to mobilize support for a bill before the state legislature for allocation of financial assistance to foreign students. On the other hand, the issues discussed may concern events in the home countries. Recent examples are the meetings held by the Ethiopian Students Association at which the political events of the past year in that country have been discussed and information about the situation at home exchanged.

National emergencies in home countries have been responded to by national groups by solicitation of funds among members. In late 1973, for example, the Thai Student Association collected money to be sent to aid the students wounded during the street fighting that resulted in a change of government. The Ethiopian Students Association collected money from churches in the Twin Cities to aid in famine relief. The Pakistan International Students Association also collected funds to aid refugees on the sub-continent.

Some groups sponsor performances of national music and dance, films

about their countries, and speakers on subjects pertaining to their countries. Funds for the programs of the national groups generally come from yearly membership dues, though some funds for special projects can be obtained through the Minnesota International Students Association or other University sources.

Some national groups try to help recently-arrived students become oriented in their new situations - showing them how to register for classes, where to shop, how to get around town, and so forth. A few national groups, notably the Hong Kong Students Association, sponsor summer orientation meetings in the home country for those people admitted to the University. Members of a national group who plan to return home for the summer will obtain from the University lists of fellow nationals admitted and then will invite these people to a meeting prior to departure for Minnesota.

The permanent residents and citizens in the national groups, plus students who have been in the United States for an extended period of time, form a group of "Old American Hands" who in various ways have learned the ropes of making it in American society. The involvement of this group of people in the activities of the national groups provides the neophytes, especially those on student visas, with a reservoir of information and experience that can be readily tapped. One of the "latent" functions of the national group meetings and activities is therefore the bringing together of those who someday may require information and assistance in meeting legal and financial needs with those who have already been through similar processes. An individual who is attempting to formulate his own strategy can learn of the strategies employed by others, the diacritical elements which must be incorporated

in a strategy, and the factors which went into the success or failure of a variety of strategies.

> Mojalinah is a junior in Business Administration. Until recently she had received full support from her parents. The combination of rising costs and her family's changed financial situation forced Mojalinah to look for a job. Fellow nationals directed her to a business which had employed other individuals from her country and which ignored the restrictions on off-campus work. Her friends informed her that no one working there had ever had any legal difficulties.
>
> Sungkit and his friends have on-campus jobs during the school year. Sungkit receives no support from his parents, and therefore must work during the summers also in order to finance his education. Each summer he and his friends drive to the East Coast to get jobs, going to businesses which fellow nationals both in the Twin Cities and on the East Coast have informed them like to employ people from their country.

The permanent residents, naturalized citizens, and long-time students may advise the individual regarding courses of action - though sometimes the rendition of experiences takes the form of "war stories" about fights with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, attempted deportations, or the "unfairness" of the Financial Aids Office. Essentially, however, information about which strategies work and which ones do not work is being conveyed. What works are courses of action which permit the student to continue his pursuit of academic or career goals, which may include plans to remain in the United States.

A student seeking to develop a body of relevant information out of which he can formulate his own strategy finds that this information is shaped by the cumulative experiences of others in the national group who have gone before him. Therefore, the perception of the possible courses of action, of the possible responses of agencies involved, and of the range in which effective action may be taken varies from national group to national group. Our research has shown

that members of some national groups reveal a greater knowledge of the INS regulations, of the job opportunities available, and of the degree to which regulations may be stretched or circumvented. Part of their greater knowledge may be attributed to the fact that, as a group, they may have greater need to know these things. This greater need may be a result of the situations in their home countries. In some countries it is a common practice for students to embark for the United States to study with full expectation that they will be able to finance their education through employment. Some countries, such as India, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, have a history of emigration to the United States by persons seeking to establish themselves in professions here. Concomitant with these situations in the home countries is the need for a greater knowledge of United States immigration law, for by establishment of certain legal statuses the expense of one's education can be reduced.

Individuals in some national groups, on the other hand, reflect only basic knowledge about the regulations governing their statuses and about the possibilities for employment. These students are more likely to view the possibilities for action with regard to their financial and legal situations within a narrower range. That is, they are not in command of as extensive a knowledge of the various means by which employment can be secured or the regulations circumvented. Again, this may be conditioned by the situation in the home countries, for in some countries, going to the United States for higher education is not a common practice and may be limited to the very wealthy or to those on full government scholarships, thereby removing much of the incentive for developing extensive knowledge about

legal and financial matters. Experiences of "Old American Hands" in these national groups would be of a much different nature than those in the above-mentioned groups, thereby conditioning the kind of information conveyed to fellow nationals for formulation of strategies.

There is a tendency for long-time students, permanent residents, and naturalized citizens to be elected to leadership positions within national groups, largely because of their assumed greater experience in the United States and their age. In those national groups where legal and financial information is considered vital to the membership, officers may plan meetings for the dissemination of such information. Even in the absence of such meetings, the authority and knowledge which others associate with a person having held an elective position give to officers and former officers the role of central source of information. For the members of the national group, the officers and former officers are often the "persons to contact" when information, advice, and assistance are needed. One president of a national group found herself acting as a telephone switchboard operator, receiving calls from members needing information and then directing them to other people in the national group who could be of assistance. Whereas many students arrive in this country expecting assistance from University officials and advisers, they often perceive that they must turn to officers and members of national groups for practical assistance in getting started in their university experience. Some officers take it upon themselves to represent individual members to ISAO when visa problems arise, or will accompany individuals when they meet ISAO or INS personnel to discuss such problems.

Many people who are involved in the national groups expressed disappointment that a sizable number of their fellow nationals were not involved. Most of the national groups have a core group of participants, with other nationals participating irregularly. "Some people just come to the parties and meetings for the food," was a comment heard more than once.

When asked why they do not participate in national groups more than they do, students cited a variety of reasons. Many of them simply expressed disinterest, saying that their academic work load precluded involvement in the national group's activities. "Only people who like parties are active," was a common statement by those who do not involve themselves. Some students were critical of their national groups because they felt the organizations encouraged isolation from other University activities. Some people indicated that they do not go to the national group meetings because the discussions always degenerate into political posturing. This may be especially true in groups where permanent residents and naturalized citizens, because of their legal status, can speak against the government of the home country. It is not surprising that some individuals feel uncomfortable participating in a national group, when political, ethnic and class distinctions within the home country often are replicated among the members of the national groups.

> One student association was split by ethnic divisions reflecting divisions within the home society. When one ethnic group attempted to gain control of the association, they were frustrated by the passage of a resolution stating that the president must be willing to assist any member in negotiations with immigration authorities. The effect of this was to force the withdrawal of this group's candidate who, as was known by his opponents, faced potential difficulties with INS and had no desire for this kind of visibility.

Some students reported that they consciously try to mask their political beliefs or their backgrounds so that they can operate socially within their national group's membership without creating tensions. Such tensions might exclude them from contact with fellow nationals with whom they may otherwise have more in common than they do with Americans or with other foreign students. Therefore, it is a mistake to think that foreign students are only engaged in a process of assimilation into American society, for they also must be sensitive to how they can fit into the microcosm of their home country's society which exists on campus.

Many national groups received their impetus or revitalization as a result of political issues arising in the home countries. While the particular issues remained in the forefront, the national groups served as vehicles for expressing solidarity and for disseminating political information. For example, the Hong Kong Students Association was quite active in the movement to reassert Chinese, rather than English, as the language of commerce and education in Hong Kong. During the controversy among China, Taiwan and Korea over the possession of the Tiaoyu Islands, both the Chinese Students Association and the Hong Kong Students Association rallied to promote the Taiwanese claim. Israeli and Arab students have been active in disseminating information about the war in the Middle East. During the war in Nigeria, the Nigerian Students Association split, the Ibo calling themselves the Biafran Students Association.

Most of the national groups, however, function largely as social groups rather than as political groups, partly because agreed political

stances are difficult to produce. Students who wish to express political positions often have found that they need to seek other vehicles outside of the national groups for doing so. For example, recently the China Studies Group has been formed in order to promote friendship between the people of the United States and the People's Republic of China. Also the Third World Caucus has been organized, with students from a variety of countries among its membership. Some graduate students and permanent residents working in the Twin Cities of one national group hold monthly study group meetings to discuss issues both of political and professional interest.

The evolution of some national groups from being politically-oriented to being socially-oriented may account for the irregular participation of many foreign students. Besides introducing students to certain individuals who can act as "brokers" by providing information and assistance, most national groups are only secondarily instrumental in helping their members operate within the legal restrictions or meet their financial needs. As legal restrictions are tightened by INS and as University costs continue to rise, it may be that national groups will involve themselves more and more in activities instrumental in meeting these changing demands.

Personal Networks

One of the recurrent themes emerging during the course of data gathering was the extent to which students indicated siblings, other relatives or acquaintances are or were students in the United States. At minimum, the student comes armed with a list of fellow countrymen whom he can contact. Consequently, it is the rare individual who arrives unknown or unknowing, an isolate without minimal social reference points and personal contacts.

> Eric, a graduate student from England, arrived with introductions to friends of his English girlfriend who had studied the previous year in Minneapolis. Through them he found a place to live within a household made up of five American graduate students.
>
> Ali arrived as part of a group from Morocco sent first to the University of Minnesota to learn English. Within a few days of his arrival he had contacted a Moroccan student already present in Minneapolis whose name he had been given by a returned student. While he was dependent on ISAO and the International Agricultural Programs Office at one level for help in negotiating with the governmental and institutional bureaucracy, the intimate knowledge necessary for dealing with day to day living was transmitted by his fellow countrymen.

Beginning with such initial contacts, each foreign student develops his own network of friends during his stay at the University. In general, most foreign students' closest friends are fellow nationals. Within a foreign student's circle of close friends may also be foreign students from other countries, though international conflicts and antipathies among nations contribute to prohibiting friendships among foreign students of certain countries. For example, we have observed that friendships are not formed among students from Pakistan and Bangla Desh, students from Israel and the Arab nations, students from Japan and Korea, or students from Nigeria and South Africa. Few foreign students indicated that they considered American students among their close friends. This is not surprising, given both the fact that the foreign student is in an unfamiliar environment which provides little escape and the fact that most Americans have little understanding of the legal, financial and academic situations of a foreign student. Because a foreign student and an American student do not share common legal and social statuses, they do not seem to have enough in common to forge close relationships. Also the foreign student expects of his close friendships a certain amount of instrumentality in helping him in his academic, legal and financial

situations. The foreign student expects to be able to discuss with his close friends his concerns, difficulties, and plans - and he expects an informed response from his listeners. Only another foreign student, and especially a fellow national, can provide both the emotional and instrumental elements of a close friendship. Many American students interpret foreign students' behavior as "cliquish" and "unfriendly" - without understanding that the foreign student's situation puts a premium on close friendships which can be emotionally and instrumentally supportive.

> Suntagi is a graduate student in Pharmacy. For her first six months in the United States she felt very lonely and seldom left her dormitory room. She said she felt very uncomfortable outside of her home country, and admitted that it was only after she became acquainted with fellow nationals that she was able to function socially with some confidence. As she is finishing her two years in this country, she has become more and more aware that she does not "fit" here, that Americans view her as inferior, and that Americans she thought were friends sometimes unaccountably ignore her.

The factors which affect the composition of a foreign student's group of close friends vary from nationality to nationality. Friendship patterns of the home country tend to be replicated in the American situation. For example, the tendency among some nationalities is for graduate students to have only other graduate students as close friends, undergraduates only other undergraduates, while for some nationalities this distinction is unimportant. Groups of close friends among some nationalities will be primarily male or female, whereas among others both sexes are included. Some groups of close friends are studying in similar disciplines, others are based on common dormitory residence, and some are based on common political beliefs or graduation from the same university or secondary school. Age, language, marital status, and

ethnicity also may enter into the determination of friendship groups.

Because of the constant transmission of information among close friends, each foreign student acts as an information "broker" for his close friends. The information conveyed within a group, however, is conditioned by the experiences of the individuals arising from their particular situations - thereby limiting the scope of the information. When an unforeseen problem arises, however, a student may get on the phone to friends and associates, asking to be directed to other nationals who have particular expertise or who have experienced similar situations. Some students indicated that it is only after trying to exhaust the resources among fellow nationals that an individual would turn to ISAO or other people outside of the network of fellow nationals.

Religious Organizations, Kin, and Employers

Near the University are some religious institutions whose membership is composed primarily or totally of foreign students, some from the same region of the world. Accompanying their religious functions, these institutions also serve social functions similar to those of the national groups - introducing students with common interests and providing contacts with people who have already established themselves in the American environment. Some of these campus religious institutions can provide limited financial support and jobs to selected students, and on occasion a representative from the institution may act on a student's behalf in legal and financial matters.

> The Chinese Christian Fellowship, while owning a parsonage and a house for students, holds its services in Luther Hall. The group plans to build their own church on property they presently own. Incorporated in 1958, the Chinese Christian Fellowship has grown to the point where over 150 persons, all born in Taiwan, Hong Kong or the mainland, attend its Sunday services. The

> sermons are given in Mandarin, with Cantonese translation. American-born Chinese do not participate. Choir practice is held on Friday nights, with youth fellowship meetings on Saturday nights.
>
> Active recruitment of Chinese students begins in the summer when the minister obtains from ISAO a list of new students from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Students are met at the airport, and if they wish housing can be provided for their first few days.
>
> Members of the congregation frequently call upon the minister for assistance - in housing, academic, marital, financial, and legal problems. He often can be of assistance by referring individuals to people within his network of acquaintances, both Chinese and American.

Similar services are provided for foreign students by the Korean Christian groups, the Islam Center, and the Jewish Community Center, with the Islam Center including dormitory facilities for a small number of students.

As previously noted, a number of foreign students may have chosen to come to the United States to study because they have relatives already residing or studying here. When these relatives are located near the University, it is common that they act as "brokers" for an individual, orienting him to his new environment, providing a dependable source of advice and support, and reducing the student's sense of isolation and distance from his home country. If the student's relatives in this country, especially siblings or parents, are permanent residents or citizens, this can be of benefit should the student make application for permanent resident status. While not guaranteeing approval, having relatives in the United States at least seems to expedite consideration of the application.

A significant but undetermined number of foreign students have automatically qualified for a change to an immigrant visa status as a result of marriage to an American citizen. Because of the obvious advantages in terms of the removal of the legal proscriptions on economic activities,

we can assume that this new legal status may have entered into the amalgam of motivations for forming the marriage union. We never personally encountered informants whose marriage stemmed solely or peripherally from an open acknowledgement of such an instrumental usage of the marital relationship. It was, however, alluded to for others by some persons. Regardless of the motivations for entering into marriage, the functional result of the act in expanding the options open must be recognized.

Some foreign students reported employers, both on- and off-campus, who treated foreign students less favorably than they did American students. Others indicated that they felt their employers actually preferred foreign students as employees. To account for this, students said such things as "foreign students will accept the low pay," and "foreign students do not cause trouble for the employer." Some off-campus employers, therefore, ignore the foreign student's visa restriction on off-campus work. Because it is in the interest of the employer to hire the foreign student, he willingly becomes a "broker" for the foreign student by denying the relevance of the visa restriction.

Academic advisers are ill-equipped in terms of knowledge and capability to be of much assistance to the foreign student in his legal and financial situations. Some professors or departments may give preference to foreign students for teaching assistantships or research assistantships, but such preferential treatment is rare.

Though few students have American host families, the relationship between the host family and the foreign student seems to be primarily social, with most host families not involving themselves in the critical problems and needs of the foreign student.

FOREIGN STUDENTS: FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS

We have so far discussed how the ascribed status of "foreign" limits the legally and socially acceptable adaptive modes of behavior possible for this category of student. We now turn to a discussion of the implication this categorization has for both the estimation of costs as well as some of the strategies employed to meet these costs.

Estimation of Costs.

As we have noted, immigration regulations require that consular and immigration officials be satisfied that the student has the necessary resources to pursue his contemplated program. However, certain assumptions and expectations are made in connection with any type of financial arrangement. For example, it is assumed that family fortunes will remain intact, that governments will not topple, and that regulations will not change. While for some students these assumptions have been accurate, in the case of many others, they have not been, and the student has been faced with entirely unexpected financial difficulties. The necessity of finding some other means of support than was originally intended is created out of a variety of circumstances.

Foreign student advisers themselves are critical of institutional catalogues which fail to make accurate statements of total costs of attending a university. While these sometimes patently deceptive advertising practices also make for difficulties for all students regardless of citizenship, the foreign student is at a greater disadvantage because of the restrictions placed on employment by his visa status.

Unrealistic estimates of costs as well as expectations about the ultimate availability of either supplemental scholarship money or

other assistance sometimes contributes to the financial plights of foreign students after they have been present for a period of time. Inflationary factors in the world economy seldom are explicitly considered in the planning process, and in recent years this problem has been important in contributing to the plight of foreign students. (Curiously, however, the INS has been reluctant to accept spiraling costs due to inflationary factors as unforeseen circumstances constituting grounds for permission to gain a work permit.)

In theory, the foreign student has assured the U.S. Government that he has adequate financial resources for his proposed period of study at out-of-state tuition rates. In reality, the need (either real or perceived) for self-contribution through remunerative employment may be as great for the foreign student as it is for the American student. This becomes especially pertinent for the individual after his first year in the U.S. The sources for the need to work are diverse - unrealistic original estimates of cost and available American resources, unanticipated changes in plans, inflationary factors, and socialization into American norms of work and consumption. Obviously the longer the period of time for which projected costs must be made, the less accurate the projection will be.

One source of the unrealistic first estimates can be found in the actions of U.S. officials, both public and private, who suggest the possibility of employment or aid that, for a variety of reasons, never materializes.

> Vincent was the son of a local national employee in an American-owned overseas firm. The American owner, a resident of Minnesota, encouraged Vincent to study in the U.S. at the U of M and cavalierly signed the documents required by the immigration authorities that he would assume financial responsibility for Vincent. He evidently

did so, naively assuming that he could provide employment for Vincent in his Minneapolis plant. However, Vincent was unable to be hired as his visa status precluded legal employment by the firm.

While both parties in the above example were participants in an attempt to circumvent immigration regulations, the point here is that financial arrangements made prior to arrival in the U.S. were not viable once the student had arrived at the University. While alternatives were eventually found, the number of options that could be considered were circumscribed by the student visa status.

A foreign student's learning about the host culture, an often cited reason for study in a foreign country, can significantly change a student's financial demands, if not his financial needs. Students may arrive accepting their dependence upon home resources for the period of study in the United States. After a time, however, observation of the value placed in U.S. society on economic independence does not go unnoticed. (Close to 80% of U of M undergraduates are employed during the academic year, with 85% employed during summers.) Employment for foreign students can provide significant psychological as well as material bases for the loosening of this dependence upon home resources. In addition, students are influenced by what many perceive to be the greater materialism prevalent in the United States. Most students when discussing contrasts between their own and the host culture cited examples of what they term America's greater materialism and expenditures on recreation. One of the first things Americans seem willing to talk about, they report, is a new car, a new stereo, a vacation, or some other non-essential expense. If this emphasis on the acquisition of material things and expenditures for recreation is so pronounced, it would be naive to suppose that a foreign student would not acquire a similar

desire for material goods or would be satisfied to live as a social recluse.

A concern expressed by some critics of foreign students in the United States is the amount of money which is sent or remitted by them to their home countries. While some students reported remitting money, this was a very small number. Of those doing so, very few did so on a regular basis. Foreign money transfers of the largest bank located near the center of the campus were examined in an attempt to document this information. Persons known by bank personnel to hold student accounts transferred over $100,000 overseas in a six month period. However, the greater proportion of this money was that of American students going overseas to study. While other routes of transfer may well be employed, it is obvious that if it does take place, it is not done through the traditional banking practices. Some students did report remitting money for the purpose of support for family members in the home country. Far more common (though still a minor number) was the practice of remitting money for the purpose of assisting other family members, especially siblings, to come to the United States to study.

Types of Financial Arrangements

It is clear that we cannot deal with the particular financial situation of each foreign student contacted in the course of this research. However, a patterning does exist which provides a framework for viewing their various situations. For our purposes here, the support arrangements can be laid out on a continuum with ideal types as polar opposites. At one end would be those who are fully supported, thus making any employment or request for additional aid unnecessary (although as we shall see not necessarily undesirable). Some students are members of wealthy families who can easily provide the needed financial assistance while

others receive complete assistance from institutions within their own country or some international agency. At the other end would be those absolutely dependent upon employment or assistance while in the U.S. to support their presence here as students. Many students receive no aid, indeed in a few cases they are expected to remit sums of money to their families. Typically the entering foreign student begins his stay at the externally supported end of the theoretical continuum and over time progresses towards the self-supporting end. Thus, an important factor in discussing financial cpoing strategies has to do with the span of time he or she has been in the U.S. Actually the majority of students whom we contacted combines a variety of sources and thus could be placed somewhere in between either extreme.

By far the most desirable form of financial support is that of full support, either from one's home government, employer or academic institution, or from one's own family. Ideally, the amount which the student receives will be based on an accurate estimate of what his expenses are in this country. It is assumed that the transfer of money will be handled expeditiously so that the student actually has access to the money when it is needed. For some fully funded students, delayed transfers of funds pose a continuous problem.

Full support from either their home government or employer, while often called a scholarship, in some instances might be more accurately regarded as an investment loan from which the granting institution or benefactor expects to get a reasonable return. In accepting support of this type, whether in the form of scholarship or paid leave from a job, the student incurs certain obligations. The granting institution usually expects the student to return to his home country, at least for

a stated period of time, after completing his degree. The government or employer may also expect that the student repay the money, either in full or in part. If the student chooses not to return to the home country after getting his degree, in view of the loss of his services he will usually have to repay the lender the entire sum, often with interest which was reported to range from 50% to as much as 400%.

> Kamariah is a second year graduate student in Education. After instructing in a teachers' college for three years, she came to the United States on paid leave from the Ministry of Education. She is obligated to return to her home country and to work for the Ministry of Education for twice as long as she was in this country. If she reneges on her obligation, she will have to pay back four times the amount of paid leave she received while in the United States.

The family which intends to provide full support for educating a child in the U.S. also may make unspoken demands, either that some of the money paid out be gradually repaid or that the student prepare himself to assume moral and economic responsibility for the family unit. At the same time a student who believes his family to be making great sacrifices in order to support his study in the U.S. is often reluctant to ask for more money. A request for more money may be met with disbelief by those at home because of a distorted view of American resources.

> A graduate student from Africa reports, "It is very difficult for anyone in my country to think it is necessary to send more money to their children in the rich U.S. The daughter of a very wealthy man from my country is going to school here and was literally starving [for lack of funds]. She did not want her parents to know this and to think that she was not doing the right thing because she was unable to live on what they sent." (Because the informant reported the situation to the parents on a trip home, she was sent more money.) Subsequent to this interview, a violent revolution took place in the homeland and family members lost both life and property. The daughter was left stranded with no family support and had to convince the INS of "extenuating circumstances" in order to obtain a work permit.

"Full support" as we are using the term here usually comes in the form of a fixed monetary amount intended to cover a specified period of

time. However, for both bureaucratic as well as individual personal reasons, it may be difficult to make the necessary adaptation to any change in a student's economic needs. This is especially true in cases where expected timetables are not met. The assumption made in granting aid to a student is often that he will thus be able to devote all of his energies to his studies and consequently at the end of the predictable period of time the benefactors may receive some return on their investments. Thus an additional year to write a dissertation may leave the student not only without financial support, but under great social and even legal pressure to complete his program.

Students who come with substantial support from their home countries are most often upper-classmen or graduate students and have some academic or professional achievement behind them. Therefore, they may have expected to have no difficulty in getting through a degree curriculum in the U.S. fairly easily and quickly, taking no longer than an average U.S. student. However, after arriving on campus, some students find that the course contents and/or curriculum requirements are markedly different from the equivalent courses or curricula in their own countries. They may have to repeat course work or take additional courses. We encountered at least three students who had obtained degrees equivalent to Masters in their own countries, but had to repeat up to two years of course work before going into the Ph.D program. In such cases, their courses of "full support" will have expired two years before they complete their degree requirements.

> Madron has a degree equivalent to an MA from his country and is a faculty member of a university in his home country. On a Ph.D program at the U of M he has a research assistantship and is also receiving partial support from the university where he has been teaching. He is expected to return in two years to resume his

> teaching duties. However, he found when he entered the program here that the curriculum is different from that in his country, and his doctoral program will require four years rather than two years of work. He does not know whether his university will continue to support him for two additional years or not.

A more common type of financial arrangement is that of partial support from a home source accompanied by the expectation that the student will work in the U.S. to cover additional expenses. It has been common for applicants to obtain "F" visas by showing proof of sufficient resources for the first year with the expectation that the student will find work after that time. This original support may actually have covered only the first nine or ten months with the students' expecting to be able to work beginning with their first summer in the U.S. This assumption is based to a great extent on experiences of fellow countrymen, often family members, who have preceded them in studying in the U.S.

Another source of financial aid is that to be found in the form of scholarships and loans administered by the Office of Student Financial Aid. Table VI indicates the amounts available in FY 1973-74. While more than half a million dollars of such aid was available, it was restricted to less than a quarter of the foreign students, and 60-70 percent was in the form of loan funds, roughly half of which could be forgiven when and if the student returns to his home country. However, the bulk of the total sum of financial aid available to students in the form of loans, scholarships and work study programs requires the recipient to hold U.S. citizenship or immigrant visa status. Foreign students, consequently, do not qualify for most of these forms of student aid.

The distinction between immigrant and student visa status is

important to note here. Most of the significant amounts of student aid available from the public treasury are not available to those in a student visa status. The legislation setting up these aid forms - loans, scholarships, and work study programs - usually specifically states that the recipient must be a U.S. citizen (and as sometimes interpreted by the courts, this includes those holding resident alien status). In addition, welfare programs of all types, including food stamps, are legally unavailable to foreign students, although in a few cases some have received such aid. Increasingly, however, the administrators of such programs are under pressure to insist that the recipients are qualified applicants and social welfare benefits will become even less available to the few foreign students who presently receive assistance in this form.

Employment Patterns

A commonly held belief among those with previous and present experience as foreign students, however, is that anyone who really wants to can make enough to support himself while in the United States. The student visa and its restrictions on working is not regarded as an inhibiting factor since, until recent years, students could fairly easily obtain permission or even change their visa status. It is only recently that this option has been significantly curtailed, especially for persons who do not already have training or backing by an employer. The basic shift in regulations and reinterpretations of U.S. laws beginning in 1971 have changed the rules of the game drastically and new strategies have had to be worked out by immigration authorities as well as student visa recipients.

The most frequently encountered modes of self-support include (a) University assistantships (teaching, research), (b) other on-campus employment, (c) off-campus employment, and (d) loans and grants from sources in the United States. The latter type is one which the student may believe to be available, but at least in the beginning does not expect to use. Although a few students are able to remain for long periods supporting themselves through only one of the types of arrangements described above, we found that most must use a combination of these modes. It would seem that students who have the most difficult economic problems are those who, for whatever reason, are limited in the range of strategies they may employ. Thus, while summer employment may not be attempted by a major proportion of the students, even if there were no restrictions, the circumscription of this option during the summer of 1974 actually created major problems only for a few, although it appeared to be a problem for the majority. From a research standpoint, the alarm among foreign students in the spring of 1974 over the INS announcement of severe limitations on summer work permits was fortuitous. The events surrounding this not unexpected decision made many features under examination stand out in bold relief.

Attempts to quantify numbers and types of jobs held by foreign students are phantasmal and illusory at best. This is partly a result of the lack of concreteness of the category and partly because of a reluctance on the part of many students to accurately report their employment. The former problem is illustrated in the case of a campus unit which employed three resident alien students, citizens of Egypt, Spain, and Ecuador respectively. Their supervisor reported them as

foreign students in his employ, yet all three held immigrant visas and consequently were not legally classified as foreign students. One of these students was also misclassified as a citizen in the files of the Office of Admissions and Reocrds.

The problem of accurate reporting is accentuated by the sometimes marginally legal basis of their employment. An understandable reluctance to discuss and record potentially self-incriminating work activities hinders data collection of the type which most satisfies those who insist upon knowing answers to questions of how much and of what kind. In addition, many are from societies in which a public statement of personal details of finance and employment is considered an invasion of privacy.

For the purposes of this study, it was not the intent of the research to make a census of jobs held but rather to explore some of the systems of social action involved in finding employment and the perceptions held of the employment situation. Jobs held by foreign students range in diversity as much as do those held by American students. Teaching and research assistantships are common, especially among graduate students. It is estimated that in 1973-74, foreign students held 662 academic or professional positions within the University. These ranged from full-time resident physicians in the University hospitals through departmental teaching assistants and researchers to that of leader of a project to develop China curriculum materials for use in local schools. The majority of these on-campus jobs (90%) were half or less time positions. In addition,

25% (212) of the on-campus jobs held by foreign students were clerical or custodial in nature.

We attempted to gain some sense of the degree of non-citizen-student employment by comparing total University payroll lists for the fiscal year 1973 with a list of individuals enrolled at the University during this same period who were identified as aliens. Table VII indicates that $2,388,530 was paid from all University sources for remuneration (primarily as employment) to this category of students (25% earned less than $1,000 and 52% earned less than $2,500). However, a further analysis of these figures indicates that some individuals with earnings as much as $20,000 for the year were recorded, thus distorting the total. Although it was not possible to identify all such individuals, it would appear that in most cases those persons earning more than $7,500 a year were affiliated with the various health sciences departments of the University. For the most part, they were foreign physicians or medical researchers taking advanced residencies and paid accordingly. They are, like their American counterparts, considered to be students and their legal presence in the United States is based upon qualification as students or trainees. In a few other cases that came to our attention, student status was conferred by the institution upon foreign individuals as a way of circumventing restrictive immigration regulations preventing the employment of non-immigrant non-citizens.

Off-campus employment practices are difficult to characterize. Typically such jobs involve few technical skills and tend to be manual and menial, e.g. busing and washing dishes in hotels and restaurants,

sweeping in factories, custodial duties in hospitals. The inclusion of individuals present as trainees (i.e., a student who has finished his academic training may remain in the United States for up to 18 months to work on a job in a related occupation) adds to the confusion of attempting to delineate foreign student employment patterns. The inclusion of such trainees makes it appear that large numbers of foreign students hold full-time jobs.

Patterns of off-campus employment in terms of either job categories or job sites are not randomly distributed. A number of factors influence this distribution, some more salient than others depending on individual exigencies. A few are noted below.

Social Networks: The typical foreign student has a number of opportunities for formal and informal associational ties with other foreign students in groupings that are based on national or ethnic identity (e.g. the Iranian Students Association), interests (e.g. soccer clubs), political ideology (e.g. the China Study Group), religions (e.g. the Chinese Christian Fellowship), or informal eating groups. Here much information is exchanged and individuals incidentally learn of employment situations. The consequence of such communication links is the development of nodes of foreign students concentrated in a given factory, restaurant or hotel.

Ethnic Identity: Ethnically oriented establishments, especially restaurants, often seek workers with specific ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Students often form the only available pool of workers in this category. One Chinese restaurant hires a large number of Oriental students; another features Middle Eastern food and is hard pressed to find enough student workers to fill its needs.

This can lead to such anomalies as a Dominican serving tacos in a Mexican restaurant and a Chinese student employed as head waiter in a well-known Japanese restaurant. American racial categories also are a factor in some instances. One important hotel prefers to employ Caribbean and African black students because they often "have an educated speech", i.e. a British accent.

Part-time Employment: As we have indicated elsewhere, American higher education is characterized by its acceptance, if not expectation, of student self-assistance through part-time employment. To a far greater degree than most other societies, patterns of economic organization and employment practices have developed which cater to this kind of employee. Some job situations are more adaptable to such practices than others and therfore tend to attract primarily student employees (McDonald's for example). For any number of reasons, i.e. social linkages, ethnic and racial categorizations of the dominant culture or ease of employment, foreign students may end up seemingly concentrated within certain job categories or at specific job locations. While examples of conscious exploitations of individual foreign students in specific employment situations can be found, it would not seem, as some would charge, that this state of affairs is widespread. Very often the problem is one faced by all students rather than limited to a single segment of the student population. As in many exploitative situations, the advantages may well be reciprocal to both parties involved.

Visa Status: As previously indicated, permission to authorize employment, while technically held by INS, has often by fiat and

practice been delegated to University officials. On-campus employment has not been questioned and in some cases a formal work permit is not required (e.g. teaching and research assistantships). Off-campus employment always requires such a permit, and in the case of summer employment up to the summer of 1974 it was routinely authorized by ISAO. Some students and their spouses (the spouses of students on "F" visas are proscribed from any kind of employment, whereas spouses of students on "J" visas may be authorized by INS to be employed) opt to work off-campus illegally, i.e. without permission, because such jobs usually pay more than on campus and sometimes may be more interesting and more closely related to their academic training. The possibility of deportation if they are caught working illegally is seen largely as only a threat. Probably every foreign student has heard of individuals who have violated their visa status by working illegally and have been deported. However, few students are personally knowledgeable of specific cases. In fact, very few actually are - we were unable to ascertain the exact number who have been deported in the recent past. More commonly, persons found with visa violations are allowed to leave before formal proceedings are instituted. By doing so, re-entry into the U.S. is possible at a later date.

Some job situations are more vulnerable to exposure of illegal employment than others. In the past, since employers were not penalized for employing aliens illegally, an individual's status has been seldom questioned. Criticism has often been leveled at employers who take advantage of this situation by offering only marginal pay and other conditions of employment. On the other hand, non-citizens, including persons in the status of student, have often been less

than forthright about revealing the legality of their employability. The recognition of a somewhat symbiotic relationship in these situations was recently publicly displayed in a Minnesota Daily advertisement seeking domestic help which described the job situation as "good job for foreign student, payment in cash." If passed, current congressional and administration proposals to hold employers responsible for ascertaining the legality of an individual worker's eligibility to be employed will have serious implications for many foreign students. However, this is a response to a larger national problem of illegal migrants, and such legislation, while affecting the foreign student, is not specifically aimed at this category of aliens residing in the United States.

There appears to be a number, although far from the majority, of students who quietly work in violation of their visa status without repercussions. This fact must be considered in the wider social context of the fact that it is estimated 6 to 7 million illegal aliens are present in the U.S., most of whom are employed. The ease with which illegal aliens are able to work is facilitated by the fact that employers are rarely cognizant of the visa status of prospective employees. Recent changes in a variety of regulations concerning tax collection procedures, issuance of Social Security numbers, and employer liability will undoubtedly make it increasingly difficult for all aliens, including foreign studerts, to accept employment. The "fairness" of these actions is not an issue here. However, the impact these actions will have on the economic situation of a great many foreign students is predictable. In some cases, it will limit the number of students able to study in the U.S. to the economic

elite of a country. In other cases, such changes will undoubtedly serve to drive the students further underground in their social behavior. Illegal workers will, of necessity, restrict their social contacts to those who are known to be trustworthy.

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have described a particular sub-set of the University's constituency, foreign students, with emphasis on explicating how their legal and social characteristics ramify in both the nature of their social relations and the modes of economic coping strategies they adopt.

The status of foreign student was shown to have both legal and social aspects which make definition of the group difficult. From a legal standpoint the single common denominator of their status is that of holding a special position in immigration law which restricts their activities, especially in economic areas. Because they are socially viewed as "outsiders" by most persons, the nature of their social relations both within and outside the University setting tends to reflect this "we" versus "they" dichotomy. As a consequence of the legal and social conditions of their presence, reliance on fellow nationals and other foreign students indicates not so much an insularity as it does an effective coping strategy. We have described a number of agents, both official and unofficial, who function in roles as social brokers between foreign students and the dominant society. We demonstrated that the activities of the official and most visible campus unit servicing foreign students, the International Students Advisers Office, is largely dominated by brokering of the legal aspects of the student's status while social relationships tend to be brokered by others. The manner in which the student solves his economic problems was demonstrated to be a function of both the legal prohibitions which are a condition of a foreign student's presence in the United States as well as the particular individual's articulation with American society.

TABLE I

TOTAL FOREIGN STUDENTS

1941	86
1945	268
1950	561
1955	823
1960	1594
1965	1810
1970	1661*
1975	1584*

* Twin Cities Campus Only

TABLE II

FOREIGN STUDENTS ON THE TWIN CITIES CAMPUSES

1973 - 74

Visa Status / Student Classification	Under-Graduate	Advanced Professional and Graduate	Other	Total No.
F-Visa	455	788	24	1267
J-Visa	21	270	29	320
Other Non-Immigrant	25	18	10	53
Immigrant (Resident Alien or Applicant)	13	21	2	36
Total	514	1097	65	1676

Includes only the Twin Cities Campuses

TABLE III

COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST FOREIGN STUDENT ENROLLMENT

Number of Students / Country	1970-71	1973-74			1974-75
	Total	Total	Undergrad	Graduate	Total
Hong Kong	158	251	158	93	251
China (Taiwan)	214	176	13	161	150
India	234	145	18	124	120
Nigeria	27	78	53	24	98
Korea	102	110	8	97	96
Canada	152	95	84	8	81
Iran	28	56	30	18	58
Japan	58	40	10	30	49
Israel	30	44	13	31	46
Thailand	39	35	8	27	39
Greece	19	31	9	21	29
Mexico	18	30	6	19	28
Great Britain	27	35	11	21	27
Turkey	20	31	5	25	24
Chile	27	27	4	22	20
Philippines	46	22	4	17	20

The figures given for graduates and undergraduates may not equal the total for 1973-74 because some students hold other classifications.

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION BY VISA STATUS, SEX, AND MARITAL STATUS

1973 - 74

Sex and Marital Status / Visa Status	Single		Married/w. Dependent Spouse Accomp.		Married/w. Dependent Spouse & Children Accompanying*		Married/w. Dependent Spouse &/or Child in Home Country		Total No.	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
F-Visa	750	209	192	39	12	3	55	7	1009	258
J-Visa	112	29	118	17	14	1	28	1	272	48
Other Non-Immigrant	17	4	8	18		5	1		26	27
Immigrant resident alien or applicant	17	3	12	4					29	7
Total	396	245	330	78	26	9	84	8	1336	340

* These figures are probably low since it is hard to keep them up-to-date. ISAO estimates the presence of about 150 families with children.

TABLE V

FOREIGN STUDENT MAJORS (PERCENTAGES)
TWIN CITIES CAMPUS
1973 - 74

	Undergraduate	Graduate	Total
Agriculture, Forestry and Home Economics	07	10	09
Business	12	16	15
Education	04	08	07
Engineering, Mathematics and Architecture (IT)	36	08	17
Fine and Applied Arts	05	07	06
Health Professions	15	15	15
Physical Life Sciences	13	13	15
Social Science	05	10	09
Unclassified	03	10	08

TABLE VI

U OF M STUDENT FINANCIAL AID OFFICE ASSISTANCE
TO FOREIGN STUDENTS 1973-74

Source		
University Development Fund	$164,833	
University Scholarships	49.210	
Other Scholarships	48.405	
Regents Student Aid Grant	20,050	
Student Bookstore Scholarships	8,270	
Minnesota International Students Association	6,820	
Colonial Dames	7,550	
Julia Marshall	350	
Total Scholarships and Grants	$305,488	
University Trust Fund Loans	167,068	
Foreign Student Work Opportunity Program	59,938	
Total Loans	$227,006	
Grand Total		$532,494
Total number of recipients	393	

TABLE VII

FOREIGN STUDENTS PAYROLL - U OF M FISCAL 1973

Gross Earnings	N	%
0 - 500	120	14
501 - 1000	96	11
1001 - 1500	97	11
1501 - 2000	62	07
2001 - 2500	75	09
2501 - 3000	50	06
3001 - 3500	53	06
3501 - 4000	57	07
4001 - 4500	55	06
4501 - 5000	73	09
5001 - 5500	25	03
5501 - 6000	22	03
6001 - 6500	12	01
6501 - 7000	11	01
7001 - 7500	5	01
7501 - 8000	5	01
8001 - 9000	2	
9001 - 10,000	14	02
10,001 - 11,000	7	01
11,001 - 12,000	3	>01
12,001 - 13,000	3	>01
15,001 - 15,500	1	>01
20,001 - 20,500	1	>01

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